1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

532

[696]

[871]

[643
292]

[796]

[644]

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with downcast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

X 796
273
689

condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

[681] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Eztaucatl, Tiçociauacatl, Tetzcauacatl, Maçatecatl, and Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but

●[644] only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

tlatzontequjlilo, mjquiz, aocmo quiçaz, aoctle itzacuil, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

In aq'n oixnaoztiloc, teutlacpa in tetlalujlo, in nocenqujxtiloz, necentecoz, in çaço cãpa ie motenecoz, in jdatollo:

mjtoaia, muztla micoaz, ixquich tlacatl oliniz in maçeoalli cequintin tiquijncaoa in tlaoãque, in ca mauiztli tetzin.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla quiotlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vctli, in aiac quiz in telpuchtli: ça quinjquac in oclachicalujque, yn cuecuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanxique.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic quincuexcochuiuj:quj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in motecumaxtin in quauhnochtli, iztaoacatl, ticociaoacatl, tezcac..acatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in iehoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoatilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic moctjtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlauelilloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlaciosizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj, çan caujlcaquj, avmpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctiliztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzmonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xixitonoa, moiaoca, viujloa, viuj yn jnchachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onoaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonquiça, inic ilhujtl mochioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

12. *Quauhnochtli* is the term given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See supra, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the means from which the officials came.

13. "Y de estos nombres no se alegaua los verdaderos que tenian los puebles, sino otros oficiales mas bajos de la republica, que se llamauan tlaltecatzcatzin y tlacochcalcatzin y achcacauhtzitzin, porque no tenian buenos nobs, por ser comunmente y vsadas dezir palabras baxissas y cosas de burla, y hablauan con soberbia y vanidad" (Kingsborough ed., Vol. I, p. 288).

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellel-quixtiaia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh quijacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quitlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel quijacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan quça, aiac vel acopa quitta, aiac uel quixnepanoa, [48] 643 644

He sung; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheoua, quitlatlaquechilia, quiçaçanjlhuja, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quitlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacoacatl, in chalchiuitl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in milli, in calli, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquin ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan quicalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxquich tlaçotli tlatquitl, auh muchintin quintlanj, in jxquichtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecatl, nelpaloaj, queçeoatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There were to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl naubtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in quichaioa in naubtetl etl, quicuijloa ce petlatl, tlitica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl jmaxca intlapoaltenh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quitlanjlia in ixquich tlaçotli, centic teucujtlacoacatl, chalchiuitl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiuitl 524 524 525

1. *Tlaytli*: the corresponding Spanish has slaves (*esclavos*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcoxio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc cheioatolli, cauhatolli izqujo, mjchioxoatoll necuio, itztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcoxpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj 565 262

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalquiça 643
tlatoanj.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia [644]
in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tla- 262
qualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

Auh in jquac in oalaqua tlatoanj, njman ic moxe- 264
xeloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in [645]
altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlaque, in tlaçopipilti, in 463
tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazqoe, 565
cujcanjme, in quexqujtlamantli, ixoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlauevetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

Njman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, 643
xoxouhqui cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xo- 264
chiocacaoatl, xoxouhqui tlilxochio, chichiltic caca- 272
oatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, itztac cacaoatl

20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes; Sandoz, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 499: "*los mas chicos mahuatones, se dizen, de xuxubes.*"
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "*Chia arrugada. Salvia gipf.*" Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 466: *Salvia polystachia.* Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 249: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.
22. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 494: *Capsicum microcarpum* DC.—"*De Méjico, chile cuilapeno, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del nombre de los mexquitones, a los que parece tocar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"
23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "*Salvia hispánica. L. Salidor*"; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 480: *Salvia chian, S. hispánica* L.
24. The Spanish text has barbers, which would require emendation.
25. *White* and *tawny* are as they appear in the Codex; *white* and *tawny* are probably correct.

-39-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

342 643 [373] 644 722 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coscalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iiciã tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coacali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmeccac, ioan texcali in jnneçenquijxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in nouijian tlãlxtilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopechti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 542 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcnac qujttaia, ¸ujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoutiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc tzellaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: quinnaoutiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpiloni, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maiecatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaaujlilo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

643 525 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game—the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcoxcatl, teucujtlaconcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in iehoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjxque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxquich itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, iceceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj quiquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixquich tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxquich oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

---

13. *Tlatoloalcalpixque*, see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlacalaccalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 349, "*los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en menor calpulli, ó barrios, cinco las parcialidades cruz, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlacalaccalli.*"

14. *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to stones, in which case the Aztec should read *tlacotl*.

Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

Injc caxtolli omej capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia, in aqujque tlatocatizque. 643

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque, injc qujxquetzaia, injc qujpepenaia, in aqujn tlatoanj iez çan no iubquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oqujchtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixquichtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc qujpepenaia in ac iehoatl tlatocatiz, qujnteneoaia in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhoan, in oqujchti, in tiacaoan in iauc matinj, in amo qujtlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo qujximati in vetli, in amo tlaoananj, in amo qujmotequjtia mjxitl, tlapatl, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli iectli inezcaliliz, inneoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iollo. [577]

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

Auh in jcoac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tlapepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac iehoatl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: njman no iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in qujpaleujzque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: 643 644

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

in ie iubquj in omocencauh tlapepenaliztli, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlalilozque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jqujn cenqujxooaz: ioan naoatilo in jxqujchtin pipilti, injc cenqujçaqujuj in jitoalco vitzilopuchtli: [777]

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: *"juntaronse los grandores que llamauan Tecutlatoque: y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamauan achcacauhti: y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamauan temiqujxpaque: y otros capitanes que eran principales, en las casas de la guerra: y tambien los sacrapes, que llamauan Tlenamacaque, o papaoaque."*

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. ii. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: *" 'Ceux qui ont les cheveux tombant en touffe sur les oreilles'; singulier papauia, formé du substantif papatli, chevelure longue et en désordre."*

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

3. *Mjmatl, tlapatl*: see Chap. 17, n. 10, *supra*.

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

auh in cequjntin in pipilti in qujmacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

643 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they
● 644 arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçeoaia: ioan qujnujcaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

Auh in ie iuhquj: in ocenqujxoac, in jcoac naoatilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in onecentecoc, in iehoanti tecutlatoque niman qujnnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, injc qujxtemoxque injc tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, qujtocaiotia in aqujn, ioan qujntocaiotia in aqujque tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canazque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman qujcujtiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl qujtta:

643 Then they took him before the lords. He went
292 bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

njman ie qujujca imjxpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic quiquaquimjloa neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaxiquipilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjccatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

Auh in iehoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecatija ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxxtique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quiatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçeoalli, acopa conjtztoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecuciztli.

644 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-
292 tlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl—the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

Auh in iehoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, ceceiaca qujmaquja tiltic ixicolli, ioan imjietecon,

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*muchos de los que temian empuerto que los eligieran, se escondia por no ser electos por no tomar tan gran carga.*"

5. *Xoxouhqui*, GREEN: *verde oscuro* in corresponding Spanish text.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tlilti̇c in jmama, ioan quimaaquilia impocolcac iztac: njman ic quimontlapachoa, quimonixquimjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tlilti̇c omjcallo, ioan quimonmaca icpaxiquipilli, tlilti̇c omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no quintlecauja cecenme, quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc quintlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli quipopochuja.

644 ● 292

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl.

643 644

Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopuchujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoalremouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic iztlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

783 785

quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan eheoxicate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque. qujmonana, quintlacoaantiuj ixqujmjliuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiqujpil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in quintlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oaltemo tecpantiujtze, iztlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. *Impossibleas: imposibles* in manu.
7. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quimonanaca* for *quimonjca*.

643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh iioaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic omnotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in iehoantin teuipixque papaoaque, quintlacoaantiuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, quintlacoaana in teuipixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoçue, njman ic huj in maltitzque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

nauilhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixquimjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izquilhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quitzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequintin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oztonquiz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac qujça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic quipepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtia, in qujtemacaz.

643 527 648 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler made summons to a feast.

Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn quichioaia tecoanozaliztli, in iehoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, quicoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

000 **Third Chapter, where is told what Moctezuma commanded when he heard the account of those who saw the boat which first came.**

Mocteuzuma thereupon commanded [Pinotl] of Cuetlaxtlan and the others, and said unto them: "Ye shall order that guard be kept everywhere on the shores [at the places] thus named: Nauhtlan, Tuxtlan, and Mictlanquauhtla — wheresoever [the strangers] would come to land."

Then the stewards departed. They gave the command that watch be kept.

644 And Moctezuma assembled his lords: the ruler's vicar Tlilpotonqui, the commanding general Quappiaztzin, the army commander Quetzalaztatzin, and the uitznauatlailotlac Ecatenpatiltzin.[1] He acquainted them with the news and he showed and discovered to them the necklaces which [the messengers] had brought him.

He said to them: "We have marveled at [this] fine, blue turquoise. It shall be well guarded. The keepers will protect it well. If they lose one [piece, their houses will be] our houses; [their children,] our children; [their women with child,] our women with child."[2]

000 And then the year made its round. When [the year] Thirteen Rabbit met [One Reed], when already it was about to end, at the time of the closing of [Thirteen][3] Rabbit, then [the Spaniards] came to arrive. Then once again were they seen.[4]

773 [202] And then [the stewards] hastened to inform Moctezuma. When he learned of it, then speedily he dispatched messengers. For thus he thought, and it was so regarded, that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had arrived. For thus was it [held] in their hearts that indeed he would come — that he would come to land on and visit his domain.[5] For

Injc ei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in tlein ic tlanaoati Motecuçoma in jquac oqujcac intlatol, in iehoantin in quittaque acalli in achto valla.

In motecuçoma, njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in Cuetlaxtecatl, yoan in jxquintin: quimjlhuj. Xitlanaoticā, ma tlapielo, in noviā atenco; injc mjtoa. Nauhtlan Tuxtlan, mjctlan quauhtla: in campa ie quiçaquivi:

njmā ic iaque in calpixque, tlanaoatique injc tlapieloia.

Auh in motecuçoma: quincentlali in jtecuioan, Cioacoatl, Tlilpotonqui, Tlacochcalcatl, Quappiaztzin, Ticocioacatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Vitznaoatlailotlac, hecatēnpatiltzin: quincaqujti in tlatolli, yoan quimjttiti, quimjxpanti in quioalcuique concatl:

quimjlhuj. Ca oticmaviçoque in matlalteuxivitl, vel mopiaz, in tlatlatique vel quipiazque: intla centetl quichitonixque tocacal, topipilhoan, titeheoan.

Auh njman ie mocuepa in xivitl, ie imonamjcioc in matlactli omei tochtli: auh ie tlamjnequj, ie itzonqujxian in xivitl omei tochtli, in quiçaco, in ie no ceppa ittoque.

Auh njman quinonotztivetzico in Motecuçoma, in oquicac, njman iciuhca tlaioa, in iuh quima, in iuh moma, ca iehoatl in topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in oquiçaco: ca iuh catca iniollo in çan oallaz, in çan quiçaquiuh, quioalmatiz in jpetl, in jcpal: ipampa ca vmitztia, in jquac ia. Auh in quimjoa macujltin, in quinamjquitivi, in quitlamamacativi: in teiacantia

1. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), II, p. 330; also James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), Vol. I, p. 56. For some idea, like uitznauatlailotlac, a satisfactory English equivalent is difficult to suggest.

2. Cf. Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. 460; also corresponding Spanish text: *"pagarla en los que tienen cargo de guardar la recamara."*

3. Before *omei*, in the Aztec text, probably *matlactli* should be read.

4. Arrival of Cortés in 1519.

5. In Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Nahuatl* (Otumba: [Imprenta Mexa], 1940), p. 108, the passage *"Ca yuh catca in iyollo in zan huallaz, in zan quiçaquiuh quihualmatiz in ipetl in icpal"* is thus translated: *"Iten fue su determinacion, que hubiera de venir, hubiera de regresar, hubiera de tornar a su trono y estrado."*

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza."

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says:—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Montezuma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses

[1] Cortés' second letter.
[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.
[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.
[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

643 THE Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh, not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of [302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He [515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses, [595 837] daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with them it was so secretly that no one knew anything about it, except some of his servants. He was free [515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again until four days later. He 643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other ●644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse with him, but only one or another, and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

---

[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

●644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

262 643 [276 314]

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

[651 212 289] 344 411

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 Among the duties of the "chief of men," we notice first that
644 of residence at the "tecpan" or official house.[237] This is commonly stated to be a royal privilege, whereas it was, in fact, a burthen, as it simply meant that he occupied the position of head of the official household of the tribe.[238] The formation of this household we have elsewhere described.[239] It was a communal group, consisting of the head-war-chief and his family, together with such assistants (and their families, if any), as were required for the transaction of daily business.[240] The "tecpan" is appropriately called: "house of the community," "casa de comunidad," by Fray Juan de Torquemada,[241] and its residents were placed and kept there for the purpose of extending tribal hospitality, and for the furtherance of tribal business and extra-tribal relations. This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who

"un animoso capitan llamado Quauhtemoc de edad de diez y ocho años que ya le querian elegir por Rey dijo en alta voz:" "Qué es lo que dize este bellaco de Motecuczuma, muger de los españoles, que tal se puede llamar, pues con ánimo mugeril se entregó á ellos de puro miedo y asegurándonos nos ha puesto todos en este trabajo? No le queremos obedecer porque ya no es nuestro Rey, y como á vil hombre le hemos de dar el castigo y pago." *Progmento No.* 2 (*Noticias Relationes á la Conquista*," etc., p. 143): "y ellos le deshonraron y llamaron el Cobarde." *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494): "sokó á un Hermano de Motecuhçuma, Señor de Iztapalapan, y los Mexicanos, ni hicieron el Mercado, ni le dexaron bolver á la Prision, y le eligieron por su Caudillo" (Id. Cap. LXX, p. 497). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIIa, Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 125, cap. XV, pp. 130, 131). *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. VIII, p. 264). It is very interesting to notice that Torquemada and Herrera use identically the same words. Their versions are the fullest.

[237] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410). *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214): "Y assi lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, etc., etc." It is scarcely necessary to prove this at any length, by quotations.

[238] *Tenure of Lands* (p. 409). *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 178): "Estos Tributos eran para el bien publico, para las Guerras, para pagar á los Governadores, i Mini-tros de Justicia, i Capitanes, porque toda esta Gente comia, de ordinario, en el Palacio del Rey, adonde cada uno tenia su asiento, i lugar conocido, segun su oficio, i Calidad, . . ." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 361): "Y despues que habia comido el señor, mandaba á sus pages, ó servidores, que diesen de comer á todos los señores y embajadores que habian venido de algunos pueblos, y tambien daban de comer á los que guardaban el palacio. Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos y á los Sátrapas de los ídolos. Asimismo daban de comer á los cantores, á los pages, á todos los del palacio, etc., etc. . . ." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, p. 144). The latter is very positive, mentioning it as a duty.

[239] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410).

[240] The information on this point goes back to *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas personales, los cuales se sentaban, y otros andaban por unas salas y corredores que habian en la dicha casa, etc., etc." The other eye-witnesses are hardly as positive. The exaggerated reports of *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 505). *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296), *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa. Trat. I°. cap. XXIII, pp. 356, 357, etc.), *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. IX, pp. 168, 184) and others, simply prove that the "tecpan" was permanently occupied by a numerous household, of which the "chief of men" was the head.

[241] "*Monarquia Indiana*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who daily transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in separate, even secluded, quarters.[342] But their main duty con-

643 644 [574]

[342] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p, 301, as copied in note 238). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 96): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the food was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutlatoca") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of men," "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, teniéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarles cada dia al palacio que comán con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consegeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas,—a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans,—where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itzcahuitl, tecuitlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente llevándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzándolo á comer estava muy sabrosa, y prosiguiendo en su comida, etc., etc. . . ." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 49), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Outre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I. p. 35), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traian de comer al dicho Muteczuma, asimismo lo traian á todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto á su persona, y tambien á los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Habia cotidianamente la dispensa y botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verd.*" Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by *Zurita* (p. 96), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "traianles algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332): "Estos Jueces oian de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Dias á mañana, y tarde, ... asistian en sus Salas, que las havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, ..." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296): "No solo tenia este Grande, y Magnifico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosas, para su Morada, para sus Consejos, y Señores, y toda la demas Gente, que llegaba á ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ," also (Lib. IV, cap. L. p. 459). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," headchief of Tezcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 167): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, asi para su Persona, como para hacer Hospicio ordinario á todos los que servian en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comian en su Casa cada Dia, . . ." *Petrus Martyr of Anghiera* ("*De nouo Orbe*," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, p. 482), about Tezcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 304). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "*Popol Vuh*" (p. 303): "Are qui cuchbal quib ri-oxib chi nim-ha u bi cacmal, chiri cut chi e'uqah-vi e'uquiya, ..."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 644 sisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.[943] It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,[944] and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

574 That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 308): "Habia otra sola que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos ó enemigos del señor. . . . . ."; "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 73): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos, como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala, á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona, y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viessen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII. p. 347): "Fasting child" of Tezcuco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores. . . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesía se hizo que al de Tezcuco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Neçaualpilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenian aparejado un retraimiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351), also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 459, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXIV. pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Tezcuco). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 534 and 535). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun"—a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and fed, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa*," etc.) etc., Lib. III. cap. XV. p. 135): Y como en aquel tiempo no auia mesones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que auia de recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 135 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

[943] Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 35), *Bernal diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. XCI. pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista de México*," Col. de Doc's II, p. 581). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("*Montezuma's Dinner*" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

[944] I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan McIvor by its chief "Fergus McIvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[945]

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[946] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[947] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[948] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[949] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott in "Waverley." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 88, Vedia II).

[945] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[946] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y así, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[947] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16. 18. to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 100) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126).

[948] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitls, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[949] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*." Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief
644 of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 preheasible beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to their custom very richly, and when they
576 came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." ". . . . . After we had passed that bridge, this lord Mutecruma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Mutecruma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutecruma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutecruma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms. . . . . ."

Bernal Diaz de Castillo. Cap. 88.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Cuyoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamucan, chief of Tezcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Cuyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuis" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotaras on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing rugs for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common 643 644

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), simply says: "The said Muteczuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom." 114

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 300), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcalteca (*"Art of War,"* p. 153, note 203), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to [illegible]ify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of [illegible] troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachalco and Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlaipiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 62), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Maxatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnochuecques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipiles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenochtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 330). "They went in procession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 727 114 114 576

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar
644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio
576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been
171 noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at *him*, neither did he look at *them*. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 470). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*," etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 331), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians*," p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Lesliel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*," Barby 1788, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 315, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 6, Trat I").

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hiziéronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se deuian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes auian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790*," Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1753 or 1754, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of the community," that is the place where the business of the entire social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don J. F. Ramírez* ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codex Ramírez* (p. 65): "Puso así mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 109).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), which is very interesting in a general way.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643
644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
314 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan."[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council
202 clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII. p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaellel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 132, 134 and 138; cap. XVI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 96). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 96; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 40, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 58, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).